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along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home.

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[15] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[16]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all.

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it

[15] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[16] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1929, II: 33–56; and Housse, 1939, pp. 217–21.

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away, or when fear of a contagious disease makes it seem wiser to burn the bedclothes.

Formerly it was a common practice to call in a *machi* or some special practitioner to perform a kind of autopsy in order to determine the cause of death.[17] Although this custom is no longer widespread, a simple rite of divination still prevails. As soon as death has taken place, two dishes of parched wheat, carefully smoothed over, are put at either side of the head. Before sunrise next morning they are closely examined. If they show impressions of feet, or if the corpse's head has inclined sharply to one side or the other, it is supposed to mean that another death will soon occur in the neighborhood.

Burial is delayed for several days so that all who have been notified of the event may gather at the home of the deceased. Meanwhile, there is much feasting and drinking, with symbolic participation by the corpse. Preparations for interment are made as soon as relatives and friends have had time to assemble. The body is enclosed either in a conventional coffin or in an old-fashioned "canoe" made by bisecting a stout tree trunk lengthwise. Each half is then hollowed out, the body is put into the lower half, and the upper segment is fitted over it and tied on as a lid. Food, wine, tools, and offerings contributed by friends and acquaintances are placed inside.

On the day of the funeral the coffin and all associated gear are placed outdoors. Two pairs of orators, known as *weupins*, representing the dead person's matrilineal and patrilineal connections, then deliver lengthy eulogies, during which they recite the life story of the departed one, call to mind his ancestry, dwell on his fine character, and make public his expressed wishes for the disposal of his property. There is much wailing by relatives, sometimes augmented by professional mourners. Araucanian men as well as women are expected to grieve by weeping, and mournful blasts are emitted on the *trutruka*.

[17] According to Edwards (1929, p. 49) the personage who performs this office is called *cupolave*, but Smith (1855, p. 236) stated that *machis* make autopsies. A lengthy account of such a ceremony that took place in 1892 is given in Latcham (1909, pp. 365–70).

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Shortly before a burial takes place severel young men from the reduction dig a grave in the local cemetery. On such occasions a reservation functions as a group of kin. There are no professional gravediggers, and those who volunteer their services are subjected to no tabus. The Araucanians prefer spacious cemeteries, completely enclosed and entered through a single gate which can be locked (see Pl. X, Fig. 2). Orientation is generally to the west, and members of both sexes may be buried side by side, but one section is usually set apart for children. Mention was made of burial plots reserved for the use of groups of relatives, but the nature of such groups could not be ascertained.[18] A variety of grave types may be found in a single cemetery. For instance, at Malalche, near Cautinche, there were four kinds of graves within one enclosure. They were: old style, with the body encased in two halves of a thick tree trunk; a newer kind, in which the corpse rests in a coffin and the plot is enclosed by a small picket fence; children's graves, marked only with small individual crosses; and the grave of a *machi*, distinguished by her *rewe* set at its foot and also marked with a large wooden cross and surrounded by a picket fence (Pl. X, Fig. 1).

A corpse may be conveyed to the cemetery in an oxcart, but more often it is likely to be carried on a sort of stretcher borne by men. There is a convention that when a body is being thus carried it must not be set down between the house and the place of burial. Should it happen to touch the ground en route, a cross must be erected to mark the spot.[19] Since much drunkenness prevails at funerals, it is said that some corpses are repeatedly tumbled to earth. Housse stated that mounted men charge ahead as if to induce a spirit to follow them and, con-

[18] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 735), who said: "Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling . . . to which the body was carried. . . on a stretcher or in the coffin." At Cautinche one of the cemeteries is close to the spot where the first house was built, and another is near a new settlement made in 1917. See Figure 4, near houses Nos. 16 and 1, and Plate X, Figure 2.

[19] Wooden crosses are also placed wherever a murder occurred or a body has been found.

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1764 versely, that ashes are spread on the way home to prevent the soul's return.[20] I was unable to verify these practices.

Interment takes place in a deep grave. *Mudai* or *chicha* is poured into the opening, and other offerings may be added. At one time it seems to have been the custom to kill a man's favorite horse over his grave and to bury it in an adjacent plot, but this is no longer done.[21] According to Housse, the more grave offerings a person receives, the better his soul's fate in the afterlife.[22] So strong a hold does this notion have that even Christian Indians are often observed putting objects, more or less surreptitiously, into the graves of their dead.

After the deposit of food, drink, and other gifts, the grave is filled in and covered with a heavy log. It was explained that this is done to protect the body from inclement weather, to keep out wild animals, and to prevent witches from snatching the remains for conversion into a *witranalwe*. At the close of the rites the grave is carefully smoothed, and four days later members of the bereaved family thoroughly inspect the surface for signs of disturbance. More offerings are sometimes made on these occasions, after which the grave is no longer visited, except by those who observe Christian customs. There is no evidence of a native belief in the periodic return of spirits of the dead.

OTHER-WORLD NOTIONS

1774 Araucanian notions of souls and spirits are seldom given overt expression, but many of their beliefs are indirectly stated. There are numerous variations of their basic concepts, but in general they believe in multiple souls,[23] and they have a tendency to equate a number of spirit-containing factors including

[20] Housse, 1939, p. 219. Also, see Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84. Detailed accounts of the traditional rites for a chief may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 395–415, and in Joseph, 1933, pp. 515–26.

[21] Lothrop wrote me that at La Serena llamas used to be sacrificed.

[22] Housse, 1939, p. 89.

[23] Cooper (1946, p. 735) said: "There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the Mapuche-Huilliche believed men to have two or more 'souls.'" Among contemporary Araucanians there is widespread belief in multiple souls as the phrase is customarily used in anthropological literature. On this point see Latcham, 1924, pp. 579–86.

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PLATE X

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764

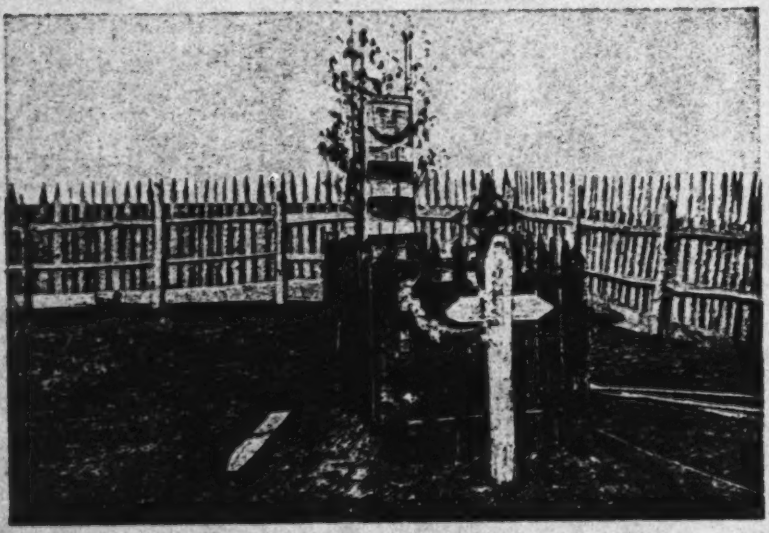

FIG. 1. A *machi's* grave in the Malalche cemetery.

FIG. 2. The original cemetery at Cautinche. Although no Christian was ever buried here, the entrance is marked with a cross.

[end plate 10]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's
753 life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pihuchenyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pilli* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the [764] sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few [764] coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

177 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed
797 the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *huecuvus* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been
787 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first
754 thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*cupon*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its simile for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *huecuvu* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and placed on a litter adorned with branches of *canelo* and laurel. The litter is borne to the burial ground on the shoulders of four of the nearest male relations. When the procession leaves the house the whole assembly utter shouts and lamentations, which are kept up till the funeral is over. 764 ●

The graves are dug to the depth of about 4 feet, and are generally square in form.

The presents brought by the mourners are buried with the corpse, together with supplies of food, clothing and arms, to provide for his long journey. A sheep is sacrificed over the grave, and sometimes a horse, or the latter is buried with the corpse if the distance to the coast is considerable. With this sacrifice, the burial proper concludes, but the orgies and feasting continue till the provisions provided are entirely consumed, and sometimes last for several days.

Ceremonies.—The following account is abridged from notes taken on the spot during my stay among these Indians in 1892, when I was fortunate enough to be a personal witness of some of their principal ceremonies. 754 787

Culapan (three lions or pumas), head chief or *apo-ulmen* of the *aillarchue* of the upper Cautin, had died suddenly, probably of apoplexy, during a feast in a neighbouring village. This manner of death, so uncommon among the Indians, there being no visible cause to explain it, was immediately set down to witchcraft. The corpse was brought home, attended by the whole population of the *rehue* where the death had taken place. [164]

The *machi*, or medicine man, was sent for, and a summons sent round for all *toquis* of the neighbouring villages to assemble with their *conya*, or braves. The *machi* arrived a little before nightfall. He was dressed after the fashion of the women, and had a puma skin hung round his loins and dragging behind him on the ground. In his right hand he carried a wand about 18 inches in length, covered with snake's skin and garnished with human teeth. Two assistants accompanied him carrying the instruments of his profession.

At sunset a fire of green *canelo* wood was lighted before the door of the *ruca* around which more than a hundred persons gathered. From this fire arose a thick pungent smoke, which completely shrouded the entrance of the hut.

The *machi* took his stand in front of this fire, with arms extended, face upturned, and eyes unblinking for more than half an hour, inhaling without flinching the clouds of suffocating smoke that enveloped him, and seemingly lost to everything around him.

Suddenly he recovered consciousness, and rushed into the hut where the body was laid out on a bed of skins. What he did there, no one could tell, but after a short while he reappeared, showing signs of mental and bodily exhaustion.

The corpse was now brought out and laid on a rude bier near the fire. One of the assistants proceeded to strip it of its garments, after which he made an incision in the side a little above the hip, placing two sticks in the lips of the wound to hold them open. By this operation the liver was disclosed. The gall bladder was taken out, slit open, and the contents received in a small saucer-like

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

By degrees, the dance became more and more furious, the contortions more complicated, and at length he broke out into a wild monotonous chant. This was kept up till human nature could stand no more, and he fell back in a fit, or state of coma, produced by utter exhaustion. 754 787 535

The attention of the crowd now became painful, every one waiting for some sign of returning consciousness. In about a quarter of an hour, the twitching of the limbs told of returning life, and in a short while he suddenly sat up. 754 787 532

When his faculties were a little clearer he again took his wand, and holding it loosely between his fingers, let it drop in the centre of the circle. Naturally, it fell across one of the figures drawn round the edge. In a short time he announced that the chief had been slain by an enemy who had taken the form of a black *caita* (wild bull), and that it was necessary to sacrifice such an animal, when the evil-doer would immediately suffer for his act.

Six young men, near relatives of the deceased, were told off for the hunt, and with very slight preparations, they saddled their horses and disappeared into the night, while the crowd gradually broke up, only the relatives remaining to take part in one of those debauches in which every Indians' reunion terminates.

In the early morning, I took advantage of the comparative quiet to look for and make a drawing of the circle and figures drawn by the *machi* the night before.

The figures were meant to represent respectively, a horse, a partridge, a wild bull, a cock, a puma, and a vulture.

It is peculiar to notice that while all the animals are drawn with two forelegs none of them have more than one hind leg, while all the birds have three toes. The diameter of the circle was about 2 feet.

Soon after sunrise, the corpse was suspended in a wicker basket from a large tree which grew in front of the hut. A fire of green *canelo* was lighted under it and the deceased's wives appointed to look after it. 754 787

It was not till the morning of the sixth day that the hunters returned dragging with them, held by two lassoes, a black bull, about two years old. The victim was fastened to stout stakes near the spot where the corpse was suspended, and the whole assembly, which had quickly drawn together on hearing the news, joined in cursing and reviling it.

Meanwhile, the drunken debauch had been kept up without intermittence, and every kind of licence indulged in. The following day was appointed for the funeral. Every one was early astir, and busy in the arrangements for the ceremony. 764

A coffin was constructed of hewn slabs. The body (*alhue*), black and shrivelled, was taken down, dressed in new clothes, and placed upon a bier (*pilyuay*) constructed of poles, over which a cowhide was stretched. The bier was adorned with branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree, laurel and myrtle.

The chiefs of the villages and the heads of families now brought their presents, consisting of liquors, mantas, chickens, lambs, cheese, milk, corn, cakes or other

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 articles of food, and laid then on the ground near the corpse. As each one deposited his gift, he uttered loud cries and lamentations, which were taken up and repeated by the women. When everything was ready for the burial the procession was formed. The bier was borne by six of the eldest chiefs, behind whom came the coffin-bearers, the remaining chiefs and near relatives of the deceased. After them followed the wives and general body of the Indians, numbering more than two hundred. From the moment the bier was lifted from the ground the whole assembly began to utter loud cries and lamentations (*avavan*) which were kept up at intervals during the whole ceremony. The procession was headed by the *machi*. The wild bull had already been dragged to the grave, dug by the young men with sharp-pointed sticks and wooden shovels. The cemetery (*eltun*), was situated on a slight eminence about 300 yards to the west of the village. During the march thither, several of the braves (*mocetones*), mounted on their best horses, and tricked out in all their finery, rode round and round the procession, brandishing their lances, and shouting fiercely to drive away the *huecuvus*, or evil spirits. On arriving at the grave the bier was placed near it, and two of the chiefs pronounced funeral orations eulogising the departed. They were frequently interrupted by the howls and sobbing of the mourners. When the orations were finished the bull was sacrificed. Its throat was cut by the *machi*, who caught its 754 787 blood in an earthenware vessel, which was passed round among the relatives and the blood drunk. The *machi* then cut open the carcase and tore out the heart, 764 which was also passed round. Each in turn gave it a fierce bite and sucked a little of its blood, uttering curses and revilings as he did so. After it had made the round it was placed in a skin bag and hung round the neck of the corpse. The 764 young men had been busy meanwhile skinning the bull. The hide was stretched on the bottom of the grave. The latter was about 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. The coffin was placed on the skin and the corpse laid in it with the head turned toward the west. The cover, a thick slab, was placed in position and kept down by heavy stones, the cries and sobs of the mourners meanwhile increasing.

The presents were all placed in the grave, around the coffin. The grave was then filled in, each person as he passed taking a last farewell of the dead, and throwing in a handful of earth, some sprinkling a little *chicha* (cider) to the four cardinal points. At the head of the grave a *chemamluyi*, or wooden effigy, representing the deceased, was planted. It was crowned by a head-dress resembling in form the silk hat of civilisation. These figures are now frequently replaced by a cross. The favourite horse of the buried chief was slain over the grave, and both it and the carcass of the bull were left there after being slightly covered with earth. The funeral over, the crowd returned to the village, where the feasting and 578 debauchery were kept up for several days, more than one fight occurring, without however, serious consequences.

The hardihood of these Indians is astonishing. When they fall out they beat and hammer each other with extraordinary ferocity, neither attempting to parry

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842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 866 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

[262 304] 861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[276] [881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

762 764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

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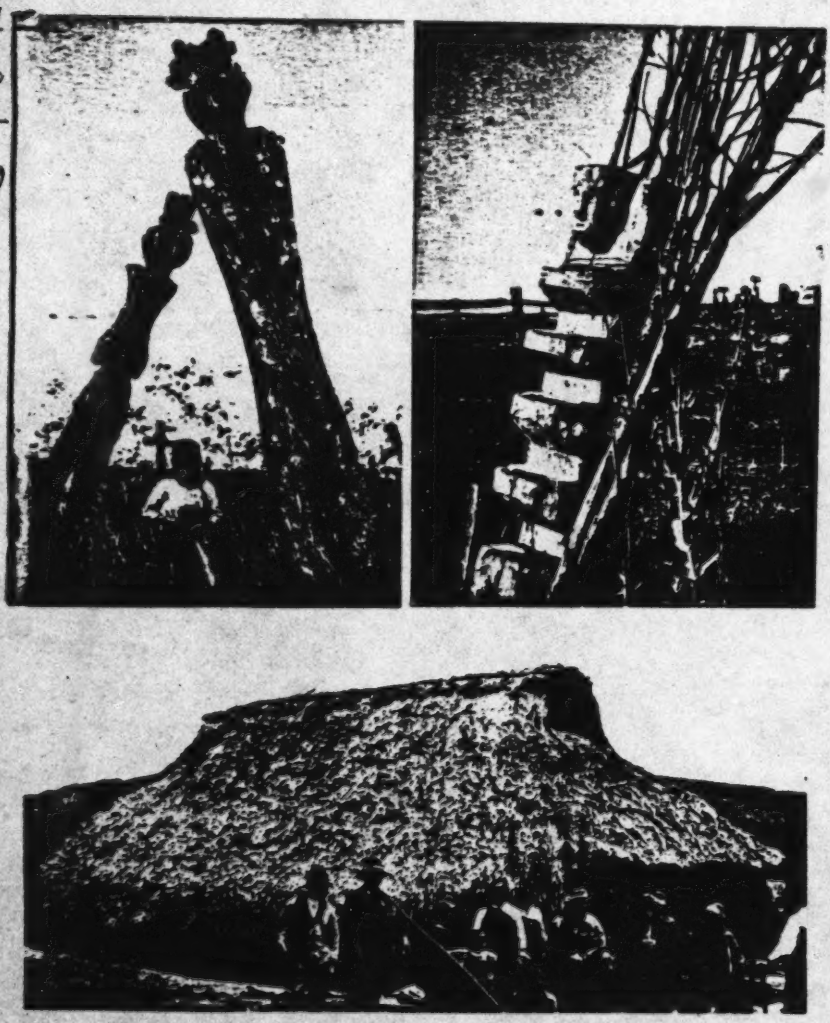

PLATE 153.—Araucanian graves, rewe, and dwelling. *Top (left):* Grave posts. *Top (right):* Rewe, or machi's ladder. *Bottom:* Mapuche dwelling, or ruka. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 734 A]

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764 blood specimens or of the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of the sacred *Drimys winteri* wood, which gives dense fumes; keeping the body on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even 2, 3, or more months until everything—coffin, chicha, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicha, drank toasts to the dead, and placed the gifts around the body; making of chicha libations and lustrations; much feasting and chicha drinking by relatives and friends; and washing the body and dressing it in new clothes.

Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling, in a grove or on a hill, to which the body was carried in procession, on a stretcher or in the coffin. The coffin, at least for prominent men, was ordinarily a log hewn hollow in dugout-canoe shape, covered with a similar inverted dugout or heavy planking; in more recent times, a plank box. Burial, in modern times in a dug grave, was formerly as a rule on the surface. Adornments and belongings, according to the sex of the deceased, were deposited in and/or around the coffin, and it was covered with a mound of earth or rocks. An alternative method, reported by González de Nájera (1889, p. 50) for caciques, was to place the covered dugout coffin up from the ground, wedged in trees or resting on heavy forked posts.

[782] Since as early at least as the second half of the 18th century (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 140; McClafferty, 1932, pp. 47-48), horses were killed over the grave of a man, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles (fig. 79, from Smith, 1855, p. 172), and a lance with an attached banderole implanted upright in the ground. In the *Huilliche* country, graves were sometimes surrounded with a sort of fence made of roughly hewn boards (fig. 80) and posts crudely carved in human form were set up (pl. 153, *top, left*) (Smith, 1855, p. 309; Moesbach, 1936, p. 405).

There is no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies of warriors killed in battle far from home and of transporting the ashes back for burial (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:163). There is archeological evidence of both cist and urn burial in *Mapuche-Huilliche* territory (Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 211–12, 235; 1922 b, pp. 765–66; 1928 b, pp. 206–7, figs. 5–6), but no historic record of such burial among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

[765] In some cases simple anniversary rites occurred. It was not permissible to mention the name of a deceased person. (For fuller details on burial customs, cf. Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 272–300.)

774 **Concept of soul and future life.**—The human soul or spirit was called pellú (pallí, pulli), am, alwe, loliñ, aiwiñ. Such differences of meaning

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774 as the respective words may embody are not clearly deducible from vocabulary definitions, explanations, or contexts. The last four appear to denote the soul or spirit of the deceased. In Febrés (1882) and Havestadt (1883, 1:458), am also connotes a ghostly specter or apparition, for which, according to Latcham (1922 b, p. 581) pellū is never used; nor is alwe ever used for the soul of a living human being. The primary literal meaning of aiwiñ is "shadow cast by an object." The soul separated from the body was also called sometimes pillan. There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the *Mapuche-Huilliche* believed men to have two or more "souls."

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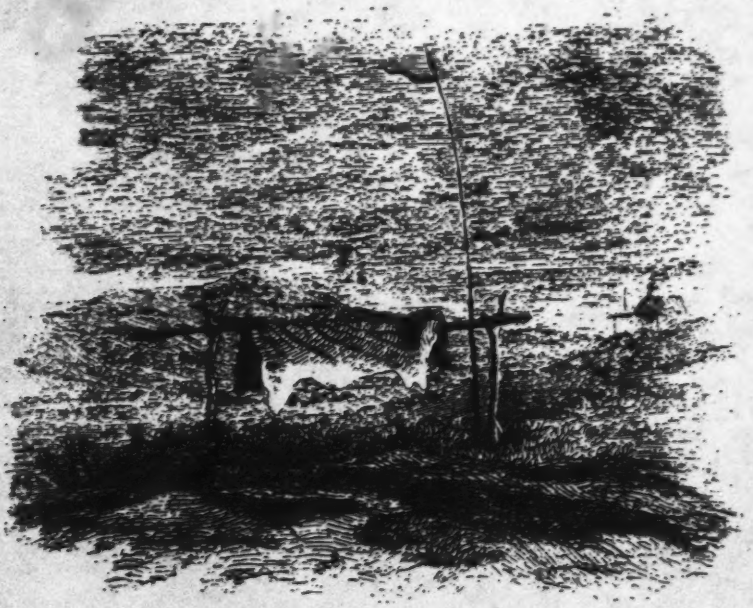

FIGURE 79.—*Mapuche* grave, with horse skin and mast. (After Smith, 1855, p. 172.)

775 In one version of future-life concepts, the departed spirits were transported to the abode of the dead by an old woman in the shape of a whale. Divergent beliefs localized the abode of the mass of dead in the Andean Cordillera, or to the west, or to the other side of the sea or ocean, or, more specifically, in the Island of Mocha. Their lot, according to one conception, was a contented one; according to another, not so good, insofar as their food was black potatoes. Our sources, both early and more recent, pretty consistently report that happiness or the reverse in the future life was not dependent upon moral behavior in this life; although, according to Molina (1901, p. 172), some natives

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thought it was, as some have thought more recently (Housse, 1939, p. 90). Other beliefs were that caciques after death dwelt in volcanos or in the stars or the Milky Way; sorcerers, in caves or in the depths of volcanos; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by battles in the air, waged by the spirits of departed natives against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead caciques could revisit the living in the form of large blue flies.

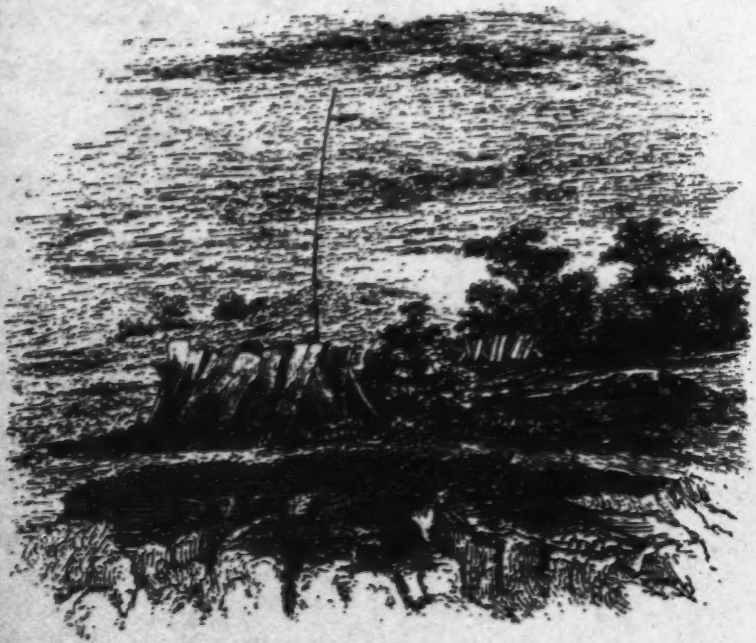

FIGURE 80.—*Mapuche* grave, with upright lance and fencing of roughhewn boards. (After Smith, 1855, p. 227.)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (collón: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and premiated as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and turns of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

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Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture, Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapuche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139).

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Mariño de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including these latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901)

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881 mare to be eaten at the feast. The girl was placed in the rear of the toldo, where she received visits of congratulation from all the "indios" and "indias" of the camp. To each of these she gave a piece of mare's meat, according to their rank and degree of kinship. Then, seated on a mantle, she was carried through the camp, and a little earth mixed with blood was put in her mouth. There was no bath, so Cox was told.

The first menses rite as recorded by Moreno (1879, p. 13) among the "*Pehuenche*" of the Collon-Curá, near the volcano of Quetro-Pillan in the Lake Nahuelhuapí region, included a 3-day dance around a damajuana by day—with five dancers performing to the beating of a drum made of a plate covered with painted skin—and a bonfire at night.

At the rite—apparently *Araucanian*, to judge from the linguistic cues, although it was celebrated for the daughter of a "Pampa" man—which was witnessed by La Vaulx (1897–98, pp. 95–96; more detailed in 1901, pp. 218–30) near the site of present-day Colonia Sarmiento, a special tent was erected; the men, women, and children went around it singing to drive away bad luck and to ask supernatural favors; the girl was then installed in a sort of altar in a corner of the tent and kept there 3 days out of sight under the surveillance of four old women; horses and cattle were gotten for the feast; two fires were lighted before the special tent, and the men, with ostrich feathers in their hair, danced four at a time to the beat of the drum; the old women then took the place of the men dancers, and leaped in the fire.

The rite recorded by Claude Joseph (1933–34, pp. 1061–63) as practiced by *Araucanians* in the Andean Cordillera included the erection of a low domed hut for the girl, short rations for her for 4 days, trials of skill by the women, fast running by the girl, carrying the girl around seated on a board, and a final banquet of mare's flesh.

Some of the elements in the above rites strongly suggest *Tehuelche* or other trans-Andean influence. But other of the elements, such as the race at dawn and sunset and the fetching of firewood—paralleled in the Oregon, northern Californian, and Southwest regions of North America—are not recorded elsewhere in South America, to the present writer's knowledge, and are very hard to account for in view of the consistent silence of our sources regarding first menses rites among the Chilean *Araucanians*.

● 764 Among the *Pehuenche* of Antuco, a corpse was taken out of the toldo feet first, lest the deceased return (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:393).

771 Argentine *Araucanian* theism (see supra, p. 742) and shamanism (cf. De la Cruz, 1836, pp. 38, 48, 53: Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:394–96; Barbará, 1879, pp. 165–69; Milanesio, 1898, pp. 43–44) differ, so far as they are recorded, only in minor details from *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Non-*Araucanian* influences in the religious terminology of the Argentine *Araucanians* can be seen in the use of the names "Soy-Chú" for

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Burials: 1, Cemetery in Alepúe area. 2, Close-up in the same cemetery. 3, Grave marker (Coñaripe).

[p. 156(c)]

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763 a place, it appeared, reserved for her. The other women were squatted in a row on the man's left; his brothers (he had no sisters) were in a row at his right; the other men and the boy were on their haunches in a semicircle between the fireplace and the main entrance. The dying youth, dressed in shirt, sleeveless sweater, and pants, but barefoot, lay on the wool side of a sheep pelt on the ground; his head rested on a roll made of a black shawl. Shortly before he became unconscious—he lost consciousness about 15 minutes before he died—the paternal uncle and one of the other men put shoes on him. Immediately following death, the mother's sister secured the jaw in normal position by tying a cloth about it, and the men then changed the clothes he was wearing to his best ones, which were lying on a log nearby. (Generally, the herbalist noted, a dying person is first completely stripped of all clothes and then clothed in his best ones before he loses consciousness.) His face was then covered with a piece of cloth. At this point the informant set out for home. She was certain that the usual things were done next: the body was laid on a low platform made by resting planks on log sections and covering them with sheep pelts or a blanket and then covering the body with a blanket also. Neither face nor body was again uncovered.

While the young man was still conscious, the herbalist noted, persons present talked about his wake. Among other things, one said, "We do not have enough sugar for yerba maté; we shall have to send someone to Valdivia for some [an all-day trip]. If he dies tonight, we shall need it by tomorrow." Another asked, "Who will make the coffin for him?" (The man who generally made the coffin had gone to Villarrica.)

THE WAKE AND BURIAL

● 764 According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 734-735) rites and observances connected with death and mourning differed somewhat according to period and region and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. Chief characteristics were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females and sometimes rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor to honor the deceased (awn or awün rite), and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of blood specimens or the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of canelo wood which gives off dense fumes; keeping the body

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on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even two, three, or more months, until everything—coffin, chicha, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicha, and who drank toasts to the dead and placed gifts around the body; making of chicha libations and lustrations; washing the body and dressing it in new clothes. 764

Of these conventions only a few exist today. In all areas informants remarked that the old customs regarding wakes and burials were dying out; that what one saw today was a mixture of traditional Araucanian customs and those of Chileans, except in families where the wishes of old relatives were still respected and consequently old customs were carried out.

The following generalized account of both traditional and present-day customs is based on statements made by my informants.

A wake formerly lasted until all relatives had arrived, or until sufficient food—tortillas, mutton, and mudai—had been provided to feed all those who were expected. This usually took two or three nights and the intervening days; at times, much longer, even a month. During this time, the body rested on a ladderlike frame with food and drink placed about the head, and the clothes and other personal belongings of the deceased placed about the body. Formerly, if the burial did not take place within a few days, the body was fastened to the ladderlike frame and the frame either set up erect, resting in crotches of two branches of trees that had been set in the floor of the ruka, or the head end of the frame was fastened to rafters, and the frame thus suspended. A body so suspended was called pihai. Men, women, and young children were so treated. A baby's corpse was tied to its cradleboard and set up against the wall of the ruka, a custom which still prevails. "I saw several bodies so suspended," said a 70-year-old Panguipulli man. "The odor was terrible." To which a listener-in added: "The stench was unbearable! But the people put up with it; we had no way of embalming a body. No, the blood was not withdrawn nor were herbs tied to the body. Do your people do that?" The pihai is no longer a custom.

Today, in Coñaripe area, a body, including head and feet, is wrapped in a blanket or chamall and bound about with trarüwe, the woven material used for belts. Old informants gave this as an old custom. "Recently one of our schoolboys was so laid out," said a non-Araucanian teacher. "The boy's hat rested on his face; bottles of chicha, pans of fried chicken, stacks of tortillas, the boy's clothes, his pencils, writing tablets, and schoolbooks lay near him—mostly about his head. Not too long ago, I attended the wake of an old man. He,

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764 too, was completely wrapped in a home-woven blanket and bound about with a trarüwe. About his head, too, were eatables and clothing. Persons, as they arrived to attend the wake, were offered food." Seen lying alongside a body in Panguipulli, were a knife, tortillas, toasted wheat, and a pair of new shoes.

At present a wake is generally of two nights' duration; if longer, it is because of a delay in obtaining a burial permit. The permit is granted according to Chilean law by a Chilean officer when the death is recorded. During the wake several persons—relatives or neighbors—are always in the presence of the corpse. The Chilean custom of burning candles continuously about the body, from death to burial, is followed at all wakes; so is that of placing flowers near the body—fresh ones, if they are in season; otherwise, those made of paper. At intervals, alternately, Christian prayers are said in Spanish and traditional Araucanian ones in Araucanian. At intervals, too, food is eaten while sitting about the corpse. In Alepúe area tortillas or bread [184] and yerba maté are brought from home and eaten with meat supplied by the deceased person's family; in Coñaripe area, all food is supplied by the family of the deceased. The closest women relatives of the deceased refrain from cooking during a wake.

Immediately after the death of a man, his horse was saddled and tied to a post at some distance from the ruka, but directly in line with the entrance. In some instances this is done today. Each evening the horse is unsaddled and allowed to roam, to be resaddled and tied to the post again in the morning. On the day of burial the horse is shot and parts of it are buried with the man—a procedure described below (p. 164).

Burials today are in cemeteries. According to informants, burials have always been in cemeteries—the one in use today in Panguipulli had been an Araucanian cemetery many years previous to the arrival (1896) of the early missionaries in the area. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 735) each family or lineage group had its own burial ground in a grove or on a hill, not far from the dwellings.

Coffins, in Coñaripe area today, and, in many instances in Alepúe and Panguipulli areas, also, are two halves of a hewn-out log, each shaped like a dug-out canoe. Such a coffin is called trolof. "The hollow in each half had to take care of half the body." Bodies not buried in trolof are buried in boxes made of planks. Planks are carried to the grave on the shoulders of men, at the time the body is taken there for interment, and nailed together at the grave. Children, including babies, are buried like adults—"it is a touching thing to see the body of a baby taken off its cradle and laid into a trolof."

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If a trolof is used as a coffin, the preliminaries to burial are usually traditional ones. The body is placed in one of the halves, and food is placed in the trolof about the head, and clothes and such personal belongings as a man's silver saddle ornaments are placed about the rest of the body. Doing this is called rokiñtun (making provisions for a journey). "If it is a schoolboy we are burying, we put his books and pencils with him and anything else that was his. Now, as formerly, we bury with the body tortillas, toasted wheat, a little container with mudai, bread, meat, a small plate, and always some of the favorite foods of the dead person, possibly a watermelon. Formerly, at the grave, just before burial, the trolof was opened and all who had slaughtered an animal during the wake placed a small piece of kidney or liver near the body. We put the food there because the spirit of the departed wants to eat, too. No, the spirit of the food does not go to where the spirit of the person is, nor do we bring food to the grave after the burial, like you say the Chippewa of your country do, and most certainly we did not put food on the outside of the coffin. That would have been a stupid thing to do." Two little girls present at the interview volunteered: "Yes, and they do that today; they put some water and chicha in, too, sometimes." To which the informant responded: "Well, yes, these children saw that done a year ago for a young man, but it was done only because his mother was an old-timer and believed strictly in the old ways, and wanted it done."

This done the other half of the trolof is placed in position and the two halves securely bound together with vine.

As recently as 1939, men on horseback rode around the outside of the ruka before the body was removed, "so that the spirit will leave the house joyfully. It was done in this area [Cofiaripe] as long as the old men lived; all of our old men are dead now, and we shall probably no longer do it." The non-Araucanian teacher who attended the wake of the schoolboy (previously recounted) was advised on the day of the funeral, by one of those present, to walk to the cemetery while they prepared to bring the boy's body. "I did so," she said. "Soon I heard something going on at the ruka. I looked back and saw men on horseback galloping around it. Later they told me that they had carried out an old custom."

Formerly, the trolof was dragged to the place of burial by men; at the present time, a pair of oxen draws it. In the instance of the 12-year-old boy, the two halves of the trolof were borne to the cemetery on an oxcart drawn by a pair of oxen, while men followed carrying the body on a ladderlike frame on their shoulders, and relatives followed these men. Sometimes today, and always formerly, men on

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horseback galloped about such a procession until its arrival at the cemetery. Upon arriving at the cemetery a grave is dug by relatives—"it has always been a custom that relatives do so"—and the trolof is placed in it. Formerly the grave was so shallow that the top of the trolof showed above the ground. Today all burials are beneath the surface of the earth.

If the deceased was a man, his saddled horse—the horse that had been tied near his ruka during the wake—was led to the place of burial, behind the body of the man. At the burial place the saddle was laid on the trolof, the horse strangled, then stabbed, its blood caught and poured on the trolof, and its hide stripped off and laid aside to be placed over the burial. The meat was then divided among all those present. Next a sheep was strangled and laid alongside the trolof. "The spirit of the man needs these things for his travels. We do not believe this now, but we did believe it formerly. I saw all this done," said a 52-year-old Coñaripe man. His 76-year-old relative, a collaborator, added, "I have seen it done many times, here and elsewhere. That was one of our customs. One seldom sees it done now." If the deceased was a cacique, his horse was killed, and its blood poured into the trolof and not over it. The legs of the horse were also cut off and put into the trolof. Unless the entire animal was buried with the cacique, as sometimes happened, only relatives ate the meat of the horse. An attempt at killing a horse was made (1939) at the burial of the 12-year-old-boy. As soon as his grave had been dug the lower half of the trolof was lowered into the grave, then the boy's body, and next the cover of the trolof. Lassos were used to do the lowering. Relatives were about to strangle the boy's horse when one of the most respected Araucanians and a Chilean friend of his stepped forward and objected, saying that it was cruel to strangle an animal, and that certainly today such a custom should no longer be carried out; that if the horse were strangled, authorities would be notified. The horse was not killed. It was intended that one-half of the horse be buried with the boy and the other half divided among persons present.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 735) horses were killed over the grave of a man as early as the second half of the eighteenth century, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles. Also, according to Cooper, the trolof of a cacique was sometimes raised off the ground, wedged in trees or placed on heavy forked posts. Cooper found in his sources no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies

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of warriors killed in battle far from home and transporting the ashes back for burial. My informants had not heard of either practice.

The burial of the 17-year-old Alepúe youth (see p. 159) is probably a sample of burials in a plank box—an acculturated type of burial more Chilean than Araucanian. Approximately 30 families, all but six of those who had been expected, had come to the wake. The informant, a relative of the deceased young man, name[illegible]ese and added that the previous year a brother of the deceased had had a fist fight with a man of one of the absent families; everybody knew that for that reason this particular family was not present; but why the other families had not attended, he did not know. Before the body was removed from the ruka, it was laid into a coffin made of planks, "like the Chileans make them," and into the coffin were placed a pair of tennis shoes—"they had put his best shoes on him"—all washable things and his poncho; "in fact everything that had belonged to him personally." His hat lay on his body, not on his head. No food was put into the coffin. "Formerly we did that—we generally put in a container with water or chicha, 12 small pieces of bread fried in grease, and 2 portions of meat of the animal that was slaughtered for the wake. In this case it would have been 2 pieces of this young man's young cow, for that cow was slaughtered at the wake."

Twenty men, one of them a brother of the deceased, walked to the cemetery; four of these carried the coffin on their shoulders; four carried a lighted candle each—one of those that had been burning near the body during the wake; others carried the planks from which a rough box was to be made at the grave. "We do not have a rough box for every burial, but we did for this man." Upon arrival at the cemetery, the brother of the young man pointed out the burial place and the men set to work to dig the grave, taking turns digging. "Always the grave is 1½ meters deep." Two men made the rough box. The coffin was placed into the rough box, the box lowered into the grave by means of a lasso, dirt shoveled back into the grave, and then all went home. The family, except the one brother, had stayed at home. In Alepúe area women and children seldom attend a burial; this is not true of Panguipulli and Cofiaripe areas. "Most certainly do all the women and children go to the burial," said a Cofiaripe woman; "they usually leave their last tears there. If someone comes to the ruka to comfort them later, however, tears may again flow."

Today, a grave is overlaid with earth, and then, in Cofiaripe area, with logs, or is surrounded by an oblong frame of upright boards and the space within planted with flowers or merely allowed to be overgrown with grass; in Alepúe area a gabled one-room house, 4 to 5 feet

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764 in height, with windows and a door, is erected over a grave, a custom borrowed from Chileans. (Pl. 33, *1* and *2*.) The first grave house in Alepúe area was erected over a wealthy Araucanian man's grave about 1927; others soon followed suit.

Formerly each grave had a marker (chemamul), a tall wooden post with a crudely carved face or faces near the upper end. Non-Araucanians in all areas had seen them. I saw one in the Coñaripe cemetery (pl. 33, *3*). Today nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

THE ETERNAL ABODE

775 The abode of the departed was said to be in the volcanoes, that is, in the pillañ. A soul began its journey there directly after death. "It took a soul about 8 days to go to pillañ; it takes that long today to go to heaven. No, I never heard anyone say that a soul hovered around after death."

Most informants had vague knowledge, if any, regarding life after death. "All I know is that we said the souls went there, but how a soul gets there, I have never heard anyone say. I have always heard it said that a soul went immediately to pillañ after death, and stayed there."

[774] Occasionally a spirit—not a soul (informants differentiated but could not explain the difference)—not only haunts the ruka in which it lived and also the area about it, but also does annoying things, such as howling or moaning, or causing objects to make noises, and the fire in the ruka to burst forth in flames. At dusk one evening, during my visit, two boys, 9 and 10 years of age, were out searching for two cows. While scanning the country from the top of a hill, they heard moanings of a man as though he were in pain. The boys, frightened at this, ran to a nearby ruka. Here a young man told them that it was his father who was moaning; that his father was still coming around the outside of their ruka, but no longer did he come into the ruka; that until recently he had persistently come inside the ruka at night, howled there, and enkindled the fire. To end all this, they had burnt down the ruka and had built this new one, and he only moaned outside the new ruka. A neighbor was suspected of having caused the father's death by putting poison in some bread offered him—bread fried in grease.

MOURNING

766 In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, immediately after the body was removed from the ruka, one of the adults who had stayed behind to guard the place built a fire a short distance from the ruka, while others

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In the early days the body was wrapped in a hide after death; in more recent times, in a homewoven blanket; at present, it is dressed in the person's own clothes. While waiting for burial, formerly, the body rested on a platform of poles built for the purpose. Just before burial it was placed between the halves of a hollowed-out tree-trunk section, known as a wampu. Today a body rests on the platform used as a bed, and is buried in a coffin.

Formerly, the day of burial depended on the status of the person: commoners were kept one or two days after death; important persons, three or four days. The body of a cacique was sometimes kept five or six days, depending on the time when people from all surrounding areas, expected for the burial, had arrived.

Whether depositing a corpse in a cave dates back to early days was not known to informants. "I have seen human bones in many caves," said an old informant. "When I was young I heard old people say that whenever the army was chasing our people there was no time to bury the dead in graves; that a corpse was wrapped in a hide at such times and laid into a cave; that never before that time were people laid in caves." Saiko had seen the remains of burials in caves in many places, and also on rock shelves under rock shelters. Skeletons found in caves are in supine position, as are those found in burials everywhere, he noted. He had been present at excavations, including those of Araucanian graves, in many areas of the Araucanian country, and had himself dug sites of old Indian burial places. In the oldest burials, he observed, stones are found around, under, and above the skeletons; in later burials skeletons are found in wampu. He had seen no urn burials, nor any in which the body was in flexed position. All burials, he said, faced the rising sun. Burials today, with few exceptions, are in cemeteries.

Formerly, food, the deceased person's clothing, and all things considered his personal belongings were put into the wampu and buried with the body. "Always a woman's spindle, her silver ornaments, the ollas in which she stored her personal things, and her clothes," were buried with her, noted a 70-year-old woman. A listening-in woman added, "If a man had a trutruka, it was buried with him; and the kultrun was buried with the machi to whom it belonged." A man's silver-ornamented bridle and saddle were placed on his favorite horse, the horse shot at the place of burial, and both the rider's gear and horse were buried with the man. If the man owned other silver things, these too were buried with him. No food was brought to the place of burial after interment. Today the clothes of the deceased are buried in a place so far from the dwelling that the place cannot be seen.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

766 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwə; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622 In the early days, the management of government was in the con-
623 trol of the cacique (loŋko). At times he was assisted by men known as inka or kellu, among them the captain and sergeant of the ŋillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumai was the kellu; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Paillakaye.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namunkurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words kuga and elpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 722-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 154-155, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namunkurá, Kolunkura, Kallfükura, Katrükura, Katrial, Panüwal, Pañümau, Meliñamku, Liŋkoan, Pañüfilu, and Kayún; important, but less influential ones were Treolil, Kolupan, Kintoman, Cheokipan, and Mañke.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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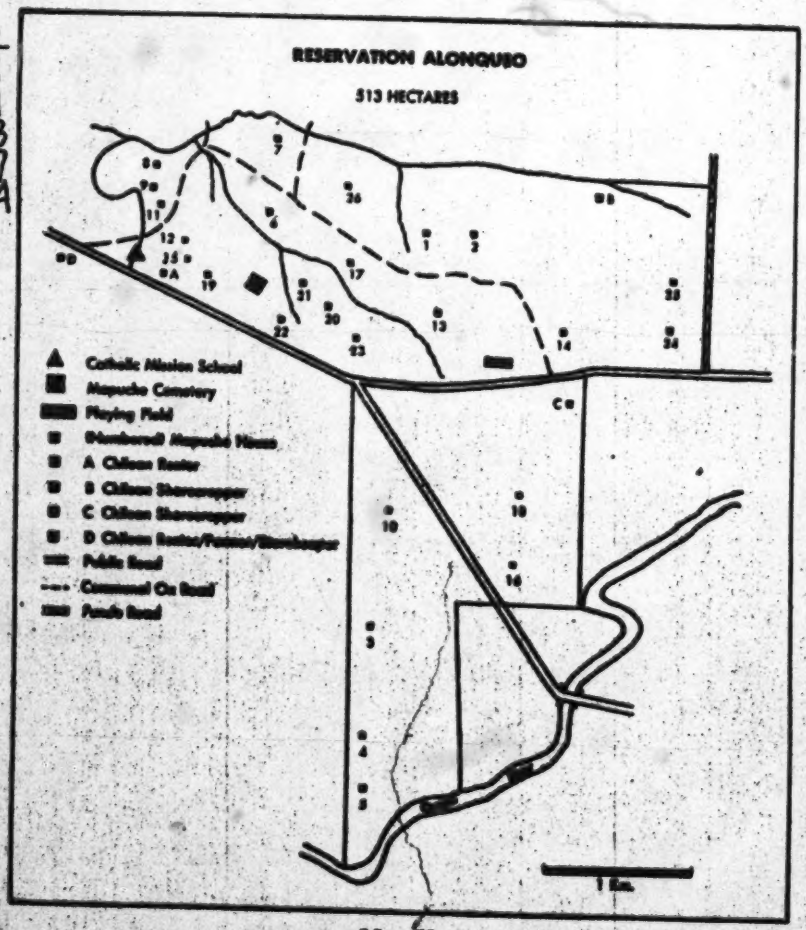
in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades. Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, largely through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes



MAP II

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons – and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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9

Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which involve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic ancestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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764 775 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living [776] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. Ancestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from cap- [754] ture by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

764 613 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons participating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one *weupin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the *weupin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

764 613 628 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assem- [754] blage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the festive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant.

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests.

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen – those of his lineage and that of his wife – and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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794 178 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereservation days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 796 177 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 192 195 [764] [765] *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trawin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *awn*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *awn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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767 The syringe and the aspirin
755 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
177 remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold of the supernatural world.

•764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be per-
591 formed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital residence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her [613] corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case [613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen*. The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the [178] corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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or lodged in the rafters somewhere near the smoke escape. Although I did not witness this practice, detailed descriptions of the procedure and of the stench of the corpse during the early stages of preservation, besides freely offered evaluations of the depression of household members under such circumstances, lend credence to accounts of this sort. It is said that the viscera is removed by a *machi*, who is paid well for the service. Removal of the viscera is usually done not simply to aid in the preservation of the corpse, but in order that the *machi* may perform an autopsy to determine the exact cause of death. The Mapuche report that there are few autopsies performed nowadays, which seems to indicate that smoking of the corpse is equally rare. However, although not commonly effected, it does exist in practice and as an ideal tribute to the dead. The important aspect for this study, in any case, is that the corpse is not quickly disposed of, not immediately interred in its final resting place, but is handled in a deliberate, temporary manner which may be singled out for analytic purposes as the first phase of the funeral ceremony. In effect, final burial is secondary burial.

After the corpse is washed and clothed in its finest garments, it is placed for display on a *llañi* or *mellel* (each signifying a bier or altar, likewise used for the burning of offerings in the *ñillatun* ceremony). It is retained in the house for an ideal period of four days or a multiple thereof, a period which is said to be extendable, even nowadays, to several months. In the burials which I observed, however, the corpse was retained in the house for no more than eight days (in only one case), and usually for four days. If there is already a coffin (*huampu*) on hand, the deceased is placed in it and the coffin placed on the bier. Occasionally coffins are made of a tree trunk split and hollowed in canoe shape, but most people purchase pine boxes manufactured in nearby towns. There is a very close connection between the preservation of traditional methods of displaying and interring the corpse—delayed burial, canoe-shaped coffin, and other things—and the ability of the family to afford the higher cost of a traditional funeral. It is difficult and time-consuming to provide the corpse with an oxskin wrapping and a canoe-shaped coffin. The skin must be prepared and the tree felled and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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764 worked. When such burial takes place, the wrapper and the canoe-coffin are usually prepared well in advance, kept in the chief's or *ülmen's* house, long an object of display to visitors.

764 152 Immediately upon death there is a great demonstration of remorse on the part of the deceased's family, especially by the adult females, who alternately sob and wail their grief, tear their hair and clothing, and imprecate the evil spirits (*wekufe*) and the sorcerer responsible for causing death. At this time promises are made to avenge the "murder," regardless of the circumstances under which the person died. Grief is obviously deeply felt. Demonstrations of sorrow at the loss of a kinsman and neighbor, and wrath against the *wekufe*, are repeatedly and spontaneously made. All who maintain the deathwatch participate in extolling the deceased. The wake (*kurikawin*: black 764 gathering) is a tearful and noisy affair, attended by much 152 drinking and the performance of spontaneous *amulpellun*, 783 during which the riders hurl invectives at the forces of evil who are lurking about to capture the departed spirit. This action, more than the washing of the body, is the ritually purifying act, the functional equivalent of the *awn* (driving off the evil spirits) during the *ñillatun* ceremony. The importance of this concept is reflected in the entire funeral ceremony being called *awn* (encirclement).

764 574 The tempo of activities during the wake increases with the arrival of more relatives. Drinking becomes heavier and the wailing and maudlin songs more frequent. Most of the visitors who live nearby spend a respectful length of time at the wake, and may return on successive occasions, but once advised of the death they prepare themselves for the *awn* celebration, the major festive demonstration of the obligation of the living to the dead. Those relatives who have travelled some distance to attend the services remain in the house of the deceased or his relatives living on the reservation. They take up the death watch on successive days and nights prior to the final burial. Except for this nucleus of closest kinsmen there is an ebbing and flowing of mourners, as the guests arrive and depart, to make themselves ready for the second and the final phases of the funeral.

The death watch, variously called *mollotun* (curing, sustaining), *kurikawin* (black gathering), and the Spanish-derived

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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velañ mán (*velañ*: *velorio* or wake; *mán*: right), lasts at least four days and nights. Its termination at the end of this ritually auspicious number of days tends to coincide with the arrival of the last relatives who live some distance away. Awaiting the distant relatives is often given as the reason for the delayed burial, but, particularly in instances where some members of the deceased's family are anxious to get the body into the ground, "like the Catholics," this represents the opinion of few Mapuche. For the vast majority, the reason for the delay in final burial is stated differently. The body is displayed in an approximation to what present-day Mapuche consider the traditional manner, because in this way they are able to accord it the respect prescribed by *admapu*. Although on display, the corpse is kept isolated, insofar as it is not touched by the viewers. It is dangerous. This is common knowledge. It is preserved in state for the ritually perfect number of four days (if possible) because by doing so the well-being of the living as well as the dead tends to be insured. The notion of "curing" or "sustaining" the spirit of the deceased shows that this ritual delay in burial is a necessary procedure during the transitional period in which the newly released spirit is in danger of falling prey to the forces of evil.

There is some evidence that the Mapuche formerly practiced urn burial (cf. Cooper 1946: 734 ff., and bibliography), and that this custom later gave way to preserving not only the bones but the entire eviscerated corps through smoking. Present-day informants know nothing of urn burial or of special treatment of the deceased's bones, although they are aware that their remote ancestors interred the bones of their dead in urns, having discovered these ancient burial receptacles while plowing their fields and so forth. The practice of smoking the corpse and wrapping it in an ox or horse skin is part of the oral tradition, the few cases which occur today representing a disintegrating tradition (which is dubious) and eliciting sorrowful remarks from a few elders. Regardless of whether or not the corpse is actually handled in a way which distinguishes the Mapuche wake from the Chilean *velorio*, there is still a decidedly different emphasis in the concern which the Mapuche have about the state of the corpse. The spirit does not immedi-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñü*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

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the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the *llañi*, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

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764 574 [637] [602] cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin* (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and perfunctory.

764 It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llañi*. Many people do not wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—is a more formal matter (called *rokiñ*) performed by the surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is [261] always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin* [261] had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral ceremonies.

764 574 While the coffin is on the *llañi* in the ceremonial field, the mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the immediate relatives of the deceased (man) or the widow. There is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply 764 provided. The first helpings of food, especially horsemeat, are 57 served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilaterally 602 262

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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

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537 Through
764 *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the
613 attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To
829 many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or
[769] made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of mancuver.

764 When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by oxcart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

764 The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly,
293 owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and *chicha*.

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Those accompanying the coffin make additional libations of wine at the grave, drinking a good deal more themselves. The scene at the grave is characteristically maudlin.

Two or more of the men remain to fill in the hole with dirt. The rest return to the house of the deceased, where family and friends continue to console one another and speak the praises of the dead, meanwhile finishing the remaining food and drink. The formal ceremony concludes with interment and final salutes to the dead. Ashes are sometimes scattered between the cemetery and the deceased's house. They impede the spirit from returning to the precincts of the living, provided all other aspects of the ceremony have been executed satisfactorily. And if this is done, the three principal objectives of *awn* are achieved: the remains of the dead are interred, his spirit is assured its proper place in the afterworld, and the living have discharged their obligation of mourning, which properly initiates their lifelong responsibility of spirit propitiation.

Burial ceremonies vary not so much with region as with the status of the dead person and his relatives. Age, sex, wealth, and rank are the main determinants for variations in *awn* celebrations. Adults receive more or less the same ceremonial treatment as that described above, but chiefs and shamans are accorded more pomp. Children's funerals are generally much simpler affairs than those of adults, are attended by fewer mourners, and are brought to completion in a shorter time. It is felt that the loss to their lineage and community is not as great as the loss of a married adult member of the group, since they were not full-fledged members of the society. Infants, unless they die at the same time as their mother, are rarely interred in the communal cemetery, but are buried in the old family plot or somewhere else near the house, and with little ceremony. It is generally said that this at least partly prevents them from being captured by *kalku* and converted into *anchimallen*, a feat which the Mapuche seem to feel is more easily accomplished when infants are buried at some distance from the house in the cemetery.

The funeral of a chief or shaman is more ostentatious and the assemblage much larger than those of ordinary Mapuche. In number of participants, the ceremony takes on the proportions

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Awn

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

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764 12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

764 [754] [796] [764] [787] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable [165] to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

764 795 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'ayen;* once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu am*, *pu laku*, *kuifiche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *kuifiche* may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *awn*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links, many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relationships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership) population—and one founded on principles of morality having a strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the *ñillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between the regional congregational expression of *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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The Ritual Congregation I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untrammelled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite.

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *awn*, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (nonlocalized members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an inmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups.

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through

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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.[4] This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
598 by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
783 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have
754 threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] [4] This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context
[571] under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier
[571] and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with